

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

# *Federalist*

FALL 1962



THE  
GEORGE WASHINGTON  
UNIVERSITY

*Federalist*



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VOLUME X

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# LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

IT IS NOT OFTEN that a civilian saves a life, perhaps three lives, and helps dissipate senseless passion of international proportions all in a winter's night.

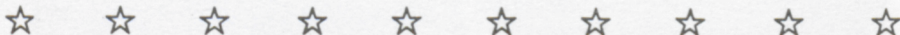
This happened in the Congo when Alumnus Lewis Hoffacker, AB with a major in Foreign Affairs 1948, acting with uncommon grace and courage, boldly snatched two men from brutal attackers and talked another out of dangerous custody.

Alumnus Hoffacker is the American Consul at Elisabethville, who at dinner time dragged George Ivan Smith, UN Representative in Elisabethville, bleeding and half-conscious from a truck surrounded by enraged soldiers, forced release of the President of the Bank of the Congo in Katanga from the same truck, and somewhat after midnight helped secure delivery of Brian Urquhart, British UN official, to the U. S. Consulate.

The drama of this event was made known to the world through a series of "Government reports," some of which were official communiques, and some, personal reports from Federal officials.

*The Federalist* presents excerpts from these toward a vivid understanding of Lewis Hoffacker's opportunity and achievement in the service of our Nation—as a gifted human being and as a devoted Federal employee.

Margaret Davis



## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

*From Press and Radio Briefing, Wednesday, November 29, 1961, 1:25 EST.*

MR. WHITE (Lincoln White, Chief, News Division) . . . The UN Representative in Elisabethville, George Ivan Smith, has reported that he attended

a Consulate reception for Senator Dodd and drove to a dinner in the Senator's honor at the home of Sheridan Smith, the Mobil Oil Director in Elisabethville . . . Mr. Smith's house is near General Moke's house, and a para-commando guard there saw the UN license plate and immediately surrounded the car . . . I now go into the first person: "We managed to get the party into the house after many argu-

CONFERENCE  
IN  
SESSION



ments. Five minutes later Katangese guards burst into the house with guns pointed at the guests, and demanded that the UN members of the party—"and here I interpret myself, because the telegram is not clear; I assume surrendered themselves to this guard.

I continue to quote directly now: "Among guests was UK Consul"—name not given—"who joined others in trying to calm the crazed gendarmes and para-commandos but they dragged Urquhart and me from the house, beating us with rifle butts. A Belgian"—name not given—"from the Banque du Congo, intervened and was se-

verely beaten and thrown into the truck. I had a five-minute struggle, during which my clothes were torn and I was lifted bodily into the truck by about 20 half-crazy para-commandos screaming 'UN'. At this moment I saw Urquhart dragged out"—presumably from the house—"bleeding profusely with probable broken nose. I saw his clothes were torn, and he was dragged to the other side of the truck. As soldiers beat us with rifle butts, cavalcade of motorcyclists preceding Senator Dodd's car arrived. I called to Dodd, and Hoffacker"—this is Mr. Lewis Hoffacker, who is the American Consul at Elisabethville. "I called to Dodd, and Hoffacker, with fantastic courage—"

Q. Dash, dash, with fantastic courage, dash, dash.

A. All right, if you wish, "with fantastic courage—leaped from car and grappled with para-commandos. He and cyclist escort"—presumably one of the motorcyclists who preceded Senator Dodd's car—"got Belgian and me from truck. At this point we were both dazed from blows on head. He"—that is Hoffacker—"pushed us in car, and together with Senator, Mrs. Dodd and Hoffacker we went to Tshombe's home."

\* \* \*

MR. WHITE: . . . In a subsequent report it stated that Urquhart had been taken to the gendarmerie camp. Smith gave a 30-minute time limit to Munongo and Kimba to produce Urquhart while Hoffacker and Dodd put on pressure. Munongo later called Hoffacker and accused UN of arresting some gendarmes. He threatened to hold Urquhart until the gendarmes were



released. He was firmly told there would be no compromise, no gendarmes had been seized, and Urquhart must be produced. Munongo and Kimba finally arrived at the U. S. Consulate with Urquhart, who obviously had been released by that time.

Q. Link, you described Mr. Urquhart as another UN Representative. Do you know what nationality he is?

A. Urquhart is British, and Ivan Smith is Australian.

I would like to add that in the confirmation telegram, on the number of troops, there were approximately 35 surrounding the UN car, and approximately 100 surrounding the truck that Hoffacker pulled Urquhart and Smith off.

# SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD, OF CONNECTICUT

From *LIFE Magazine*, December 15, 1961, (c) Time, Inc.

"... we saw a truck parked in the middle of the road with a cluster of soldiers around. . . . I saw the figure of George Ivan Smith . . . slumped on the floor of the truck, his shirt torn and blood pouring from his head. He raised his head and shouted as he saw us, 'Mr. Dodd! Mr. Dodd! Help me! for God's sake get me out of here.'"

"Another figure was slumped in the back of the truck; and in the glare of the headlight I saw a third man, Brian Urquhart, a British U.N. official, being pulled and pummeled by a group of soldiers swinging their rifle

From left, Public Affairs Officer Green, former *Federalist* Contributing Editor; Provincial President Tshombe of Katanga; Senator Dodd; and Lewis Hoffacker.



butts. 'For God's sake, help me!' Urquhart yelled. 'They're going to kill me!'

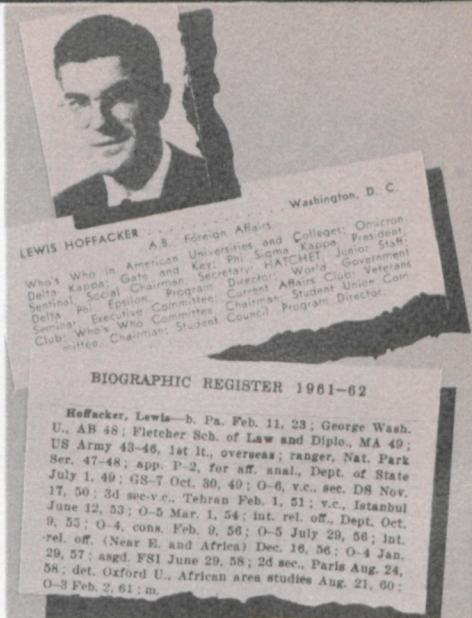
"At that point Hoffacker took one of the bravest actions I have ever seen. He leaped out of the car shouting that he was the American Consul and that we were all the guests of President Tshombe. Tshombe's chauffeur quietly tried to help him by translating his words into Swahili.

"Hoffacker's boldness took the soldiers by surprise. He pushed his way to the back of the truck, and though the soldiers jostled him and raised their rifle stocks, they did not actually strike him.

"Hoffacker dragged the only partially conscious Smith from the truck to the car and pushed him in. He then went back and rescued the second man, who turned out to be the president of the Bank of Congo in Katanga, a Mr. Willame."

Senator Dodd then told how Urquhart was struck a "terrific clout" by a soldier's rifle, causing the Senator to believe the U.N. official was dead; how loaded rifles and knives were pointed at the car and Alumnus Hoffacker had to make an "agonizing decision. If he went back to get Urquhart, he would be endangering all the occupants of the car, including two women. He did the only thing he could have done . . . ordered the chauffeur to speed to the president's palace."

Senator Dodd told also of the persuasion used to restrain the UN command officers from taking action which might lose lives and of Alumnus Hoffacker's constant telephone conversations which helped effect the release of Urquhart.



## STATE DEPARTMENT COMMENDATION

*Issued after confirmation of early accounts by Mr. Fitzhugh Green, U. S. Public Affairs Officer, attached to the Embassy at Leopoldville, who was an eyewitness to the incident.*

*The Department commends highly Mr. Hoffacker for his courageous and decisive action, both during the incident and in the subsequent negotiations. The Department is gratified that no one was seriously injured, largely as a result of the action by Mr. Hoffacker.*





During his senior year, Lewis Hoffacker was elected to Phi Beta Kappa and received two coveted University awards, the Joshua Evans III Memorial Prize and the Alexander Wilbourn Weddell Prize for an essay on world peace.

The Evans Award is given "to that man in the graduating class who has demonstrated his signal ability in the social and political sciences and who has given promise of the interpretation of that ability in good citizenship among his fellows." It was established by friends because of an outstanding life, that of Joshua Evans III, who died while he was a distinguished student at the University preparing for a career in the social sci-

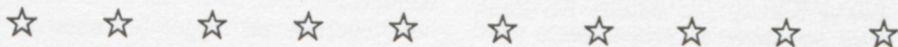
ences. Young Joshua Evans was the son of Mr. Joshua Evans Jr., Washington banker, and Mrs. Evans, civic leader and journalist, who is a University alumna and trustee.

The Weddell Prize is given annually for an essay of the required degree of excellence on the subject of "the promotion of peace among the nations of the world." It was established in honor of former Ambassador Weddell by his wife. In addition to a long career in the Foreign Service, Ambassador Weddell was known as an author and historian. He was a graduate of the University, held the Alumni Achievement Award, and was a University Trustee.

### A FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER LOOKS BACK IN FONDNESS

The activities of the American Consul at Elisabethville are often a far cry from those forecast in the foreign affairs curriculum which I followed at GWU in the late 1940's. At the same time, that undergraduate preparation in the School of Government, supplemented by further training at Fletcher School and Oxford, has, as far as I am concerned been more than satisfactory for the Foreign Service career which I have chosen. I look back with fondness to those post-war days at GWU for other rea-

sons—the intellectual stimulation of a group of unusually competent and personable professors, a student body which included many veterans with a special zeal for study, and an exciting, although not typical, campus life. There was the additional excitement and satisfaction of being part of the Washington scene, where important events were constantly in the making and where national and international figures were available for informal discussion. I am pleased to note that this happy combination of factors continues at GWU for the benefit of those who look forward to joining the Foreign Service. —LEWIS HOFFACKER



# Government and Business

BY FRED KORTH

*Secretary of the Navy*

**T**HE ROLES OF GOVERNMENT and business in the modern day are completely inseparable. It matters not whether we think of government in the narrow sense of the Department of Defense alone, or whether we consider the many facets of the Federal establishment, for there must be a close relationship—a spirit of cooperation and coordination permeating the entire spectrum.

Within the Defense Department in general and the Department of the Navy in particular, there can be no preparedness without the full scale cooperation of business and industry. There can be no question that the strength of our nation is in direct proportion to the strength of our defense establishment. Yet the force in existence to guarantee the freedom of our Nation is no stronger than our industrial and economic strength in its entirety.

We face many problems as a society and as a Nation. History will judge us on the effectiveness of

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*Secretary Korth was graduated from The University Law School in 1935. His career in banking and industry has paralleled his career in government.*



our utilization of all institutions, both public and private, to determine the solution to these problems. Our theories of economics, as debated by the foremost authorities in the field, must be tested and proved, for economic activity is vital to our strength.

There is no bigger business in



# an Indivisible Team

this land than the business of Defense. The management of that business is no less exacting and challenging than that required in a business operated for a financial profit. Funds and resources are not unlimited. Proper utilization of men, money, and materials is demanded. Great skills are urgently needed.

Intelligent judgment must be exercised to ensure that we obtain the greatest possible defense for every dollar spent. It is in this area that the cooperation of business is so vital. Industry and business must realize that the desire for greater profit, the unnecessary utilization of more costly materials, the needless expenditure of costly time, talents, and material in fruitless research must be energetically curtailed.

Similarly, those who are charged with procurement and the decisions regarding further programming in the government, must also be frugal and discerning.

An objective approach must be followed toward each problem. The ultimate success of the entire complex affair—defense—rests on men and their attitudes. Our survival as a nation depends upon a strong de-

fense, based upon a sound industrial and economic foundation. Any action which would undermine or weaken this foundation is traitorous and unthinkable. There must be cooperation from within and understanding from without.

Government and business walk hand in hand in the 1960's. Businessmen have as heavy a pack to bear in facing the challenges that beset us as any soldier on the front lines. I have no doubt that the burden will be shouldered and will be carried successfully. Yet there can be no prosperity without effective government, and there will be no adequate defense without the cooperation of business and the understanding of the individual citizen. This working relationship exists today, and I am confident that it can be developed on an even more highly satisfactory level.

This then is one of the challenges on the road ahead. With unselfishness, sacrifice and devoted service, we can develop the complete potential of our Nation. With real action by the leaders of each segment, we can look to the future with hope and complete confidence.

BY ARCHIBALD M. WOODRUFF

*Dean, School of Government, Business,  
and International Affairs*



**W**HEN IN 1927, 35 years ago, the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry made the gift of one million dollars to The George Washington University to endow a School of Government, the general concept of the School was already clear. The objective, unchanged over the intervening third of a century, was to educate fine men and women for life-long public service. This has been an unusual period, and the foresight which led to the development of this School is apparent as it is reviewed.

The world of 1927 was different from that of 1962. The Federal Government now employs three million civilians, five for every one in 1927, and this is one and one half per cent of the total population, or twice the 1937 proportion. State and local government has burgeoned until one person in ten of the entire labor force now works for some layer of government. As government

has grown larger, the need for educated leadership has grown beyond the increase in numbers; and as the need for leadership has grown, so has the need for far better education.

Those who in 1927 foresaw such a need, recognized just as Washington did in his own day, the need for dedicated public leadership, not just in the White House





## **SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, BUSINESS, AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

and on Capitol Hill, but wherever an agency of government existed to minister to some need of the governed.

During these 35 years, The George Washington University was able to send thousands of men and women into this leadership. As educators, we take unabashed pride in them; as citizens, we are grateful for the handsome gift that made it possible.

We have been, and still are, a relatively small University. Our campus is modest. Yet we have produced more leaders in the public service than any other single institution and at certain times and in certain agencies, more than all others combined.

As we have studied the needs of young men and women not yet started on their careers, and the needs of those rising toward serious responsibility, we have come to recognize three separate stages in

American collegiate education. The first is pre-career education, the traditional activity of some thousand colleges and universities that currently graduate about 400,000 students per year. For a lawyer or a physician, and increasingly for aspiring business and government executives, pre-career education extends beyond the Baccalaureate. Whatever else it may involve, the undergraduate portion of it must broaden the young man's mind, and establish a conceptual frame of reference within which he can arrange later detailed knowledge.

Learning, however, is a life time process, and pre-career education is just the first stage. The George Washington University has done much pioneer work in the later stages.

The second stage—Early-career education is sought by young people from their middle twenties to their middle thirties, usually in

junior administrative or specialist positions in which promotion is apt to depend on specialized proficiency. This type of education is properly quite specific in content. It can well be coordinated with the student's occupational activity and can often be advantageously carried on where he works.

There is also the person of promise who has never been exposed to a good pre-career education, or who has wasted such an opportunity. We have studied, and are continuing to study, the educational problem of such a man; for instance, an Air Force Captain who shows every evidence of intelligence, but lacks a college degree. At this stage he does not need traditional college courses, but he needs what such courses would have done for him ten years earlier. We have, we think, the problem of early-career education under good control; the allied problem of the valuable man who missed college is one on which we are earnestly at work, with considerable urging from the Air Force.

The third stage is mid-career education. The life-time educational process is a narrowing pyramid. Pre-career college education now involves about a million students. Early career education involves about 100,000, but mid-career education only a few thousand, who are on the threshold of promotion to positions of general responsibility. Especially in the field of administration, the material taught and the

teaching method must be adapted to the career level of those involved.

It is the mid-career area in which the University's present School of Government, Business, and International Affairs has taken its boldest steps. Our program in Naval Financial Management, now in its twelfth year involves about 25 officers a year, as does our program in Air Force Advanced Management. In addition in cooperation with the five senior War Colleges of the armed forces, we have developed a more recent program in which nearly 800 officers of the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and above are doing mid-career work, largely in International Affairs. The seminars they attend are not like the courses offered in the pre-career or early career level; they are specially designed for men of mature years, diverse educational backgrounds, impressive career records and a rich but specialized experience. They are designed to de-specialize the participant, and to reinforce the liberal arts concepts which provide the foundation of earlier education.

In pre-career, but even more in early-career and mid-career education, the University has proved that neither the time of day nor the location of the class determines the quality of the instruction nor the depth of learning. These are determined solely by the ability and dedication of the instructor and the earnestness and determination of the student; and The University has



found that students who come in the evening often have far more determination than those who come in the day time.

The University has pioneered in taking education, especially early-career education, away from the campus to the doorstep of those who

military installations and other government locations. Many other universities have experimented with off-campus education, none as far as we know, on anything like this scale. If commuting time to the campus averaged two hours per student per week, then our off-campus students of this school alone are collectively saving a total of 3,400 man hours per week of traveling time. Furthermore, if they tried to reach the campus, the traffic jam would be indescribable, and the parking problem would challenge the imagination.

Obviously an Institution working as actively as we, with early career and mid-career students, has an unusually mature and diverse student body. It requires a faculty older in years than most campus schools. We have relatively few young instructors and assistant professors, and relatively more older men holding associate professorships and professorships. We take generous advantage of the fact that Washington is a gigantic warehouse of brains. More individuals with Ph.D. degrees are assembled here than in any other city in the world, and from their ranks we have drawn a distinguished group of senior scholars who hold other positions, but also teach at the University.

*Dean Woodruff will continue his survey of the University's School of Government, Business and International Affairs in a future issue of a University magazine.*



*Dean Woodruff*

want and need it. If all students met on campus, we would need twice the building space we now have. The University has neither the resources to build these buildings nor the land on which to put them. But from Norfolk to Annapolis, about 80 classes of this School meet on



# 3 of the Top Ten belong to us

ASSOCIATED PRESS news editors named three University alumni among the ten top newsmakers of 1961, two of them former students at the University.

President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who holds the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University, was named Newsmaker of 1961.

George Romney, President of

American Motors, former student at the University who later received the University's honorary degree of Doctor of Commercial Science, was named newsmaker for business and industry.

Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, the Nation's First Lady, who completed Bachelor of Arts studies at the University, was named newsmaker in the category of women.



TWO OF THE SIX Government career women who received the 1962 Federal Woman's Award are Dr. Thelma B. Dunn, former member of the pathology faculty at the University, and Miss Evelyn Harrison, former graduate student at the University.

Dr. Dunn, Head of Cancer Induction and Pathogenesis Section,

National Cancer Institute, was cited for her career in experimental cancer and "particularly her highly significant studies of the origins of cancer in animals."

Miss Harrison is Deputy Director, Bureau of Programs and Standards, U. S. Civil Service Commission, and has been Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Labor on detail to the President's Commission on the Status of Women. She was cited for competence in forming and developing Government-wide personnel policies.

...and **2** of the Top Six  
belong to  
us, too

*Miss Harrison, Dr. Dunn, and Mrs. Katie Louchheim, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Federal Woman's Award, who is also Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.*



BY ARCHIBALD J. SAMPSON  
*Reports Officer, U. S. Army Element  
Joint Operations Group*

# DEMOCRACY AND MALAYA





**ALTHOUGH DEMOCRACY** IS a product of the West and has been most successful among Western nations, even there it has been beset by many problems. How much more difficult, then, may it be for democracy to succeed in a non-Western state in which the interests and understandings of democracy were acquired for the most part only by association with a colonial government and its officials, and by an overseas education in western political thought by some of its political leaders. Several such states created since World War II, or to be created in the next few years, hope to sustain newly established democratic governments. Among these is the Federation of Malaya which became independent in August 1957.

Several aspects of Malaya's society encourage favorable attitudes toward democracy. In spite of the ethnic complexities of that society, they suggest that democratic government in a country undergoing rapid and extensive political, economic, and social development can be as successful as in a more advanced society. They include the peaceful transition to independence,

the incorporation of traditional Malayan concepts into the political system, enlightened and positive leadership, a recognized chain of responsibility between the Head of State and the citizenry, the positive authority of government, a viable and developing political party system, the intensive economic development effort, and participation of both government and citizens in the social services.

On August 31, 1957, after a varying period of amicable relations between the United Kingdom and the individual Malay states, the Federation gained its independence peacefully. The period of non-violent transition was marred only by communist terrorists who unsuccessfully attempted to undermine both the earlier British and the later Malayan authority, by the forceful use of arms. Because organized government was established through discussion, Malaya was not forced to diffuse the positive appeals of democracy by militant non-democratic maneuvers against colonial government. Democratic procedures were strengthened: political leaders had time to build the ground-work for a democratic state having an accept-

able constitution relevant to experiences and having suitable transitional procedures, and with the minimum disruption to established customs and the economy.

Although the area of the Federation is relatively small—about equal to that of Virginia and Maryland combined—the eleven states in Malaya have noticeable individual characteristics because of their differences in historical backgrounds, foreign relations, economic features and development, urban/rural population ratios, and the ethnic composition of the population. In such circumstances, regional differences are apt to create dissension and weaken a central government unless some traditional and acceptable means are established to ameliorate those differences. In Malaya, part of the answer was to establish a strong federal government which recognizes the inherent differences among the states.

Malayan experiences with central government at the national level had been limited. Government centered around the village, the district, and the state. Malaysians thought in terms of state, not nation. Yet, within that limited frame of reference, they had observed the effects of both the unified and the federal state. While the identities of several petty states were lost when they were unified, the identities of others were retained under a federal-state government. Nine minor territories, for example, agreed to organize one federal state.



*The Prime Minister*

Five retain their identities. From their ruling families, which are intact, a State Ruler is still confirmed by the unanimous vote of the five minor rulers.

Because federalism has traditional value to Malaysians, the present form of government may be more acceptable to them than a centralized government to citizens of other newly independent states.

Pre-independence political discussions led to the continuance of another traditional concept, in this case unusual to the West, that of the elected and rotational monarch. The Yan di-Pertuan Agong, often referred to as Paramount Ruler, and his Deputy are elected for five years





*The Paramount Ruler*

by and from nine State Rulers (the Heads of State for Penang and Malacca are Governors, not monarchs, and are not eligible). If the Paramount Ruler dies in office, a new Ruler and Deputy are elected; if the Deputy dies, his elected replacement serves for the remainder of the Paramount Ruler's term. No Paramount Ruler has yet served his full term of office. The first, who was elected in 1957, died in the spring of 1960. The second died that September. The present Ruler—the Raja of Perlis—is in his early forties, some twenty years younger than his predecessors.

This method of selection may divert the discontent and antagonism

often generated elsewhere among the voters during the heated election campaign for the Head of State. Furthermore, it may encourage the development of non-regional policies and the transfer of state loyalty to the nation.

Constitutional monarchy provides continuity to the political development of Malaya; continues an acceptable and useful political custom; and encourages a normally conservative political group to participate in democratic processes. Its symbolic effect on unity may foster a semblance of order and continuity uncommon to a newly independent state, and help to ensure political stability and growth in Malaya.

The qualities of executive leadership are characterized in Tunku Abdul Rahman—the Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs, and the political leader of his Malay political party and its larger entity, the national non-communal Alliance, which encompasses his Malay party and a Chinese and an Indian party. He has performed the function of government at both the local and the highest levels, has personally shared with Malaysians the difficulties they experienced during World War II, and has demonstrated his leadership abilities in party politics and parliamentary government. His Cabinet Ministers are also qualified in party politics and government. They have been well educated at home and abroad. The nature of their non-political experiences augments their



interest in supporting democratic government.

Under the guidance of the Tunku and his Cabinet, the ruling party—the Alliance—has accepted its responsibilities toward parliamentary democracy, not only in striving for a peaceful transition to independence, but in fostering and encouraging fundamental democratic concepts. In 1960, for example, the then Minister of External Affairs pointed out during the Parliamentary debate on the Internal Security Bill that government is a responsibility for all citizens and that they can use the principle of majority rule to strengthen democracy. He explained this by noting that, because government is responsible to Parliament and it to the people, Parliament and the people could change either the laws or the party in power if government abused its powers.

However, as long as the Prime Minister and his Cabinet retain the confidence of the lower house of Parliament—the House of Representatives—they can anticipate passage of legislation which the Government considers necessary and proposes. This retention of confidence can be expected to continue at least until the elections in 1964 because of the size of the Alliance majority and the lack of unity among opposition parties, of which only the Malayan Communist Party is banned. This situation is to the advantage of the Federation in that it enables the efficient passage of leg-

islation needed by a newly independent state. Though this may suggest a rubber-stamp feature, it is a democratic means to achieve effective executive authority without loss of democratic safeguards, as is the case in an authoritarian government.

There are advantages for a transitional state in having legislative programs reflect the political and administrative views of executive officials. Government leaders have the opportunity to conceive, guide, and implement a legislative program directed at achieving specific objectives. If the program is successful, the government party can justifiably claim credit; if it is inadequate or poorly administered, the party must accept the blame. The procedure is democratic as long as those who have been given the responsibility and authority to govern, must obtain and relinquish power through

*The author, who received his PhD in Political Science from The George Washington University in February 1962, prepared this article on the basis of his doctoral dissertation Forging Democracy in Malaya which is now on file at the University Library. Although this article discusses only those conditions favorable for democracy in Malaya, something which is seldom done, the dissertation examines also those unfavorable factors originating in the complexities of Malaya's plural society.*



a duly constituted free and competitive election.

The government's economic program is directed at raising the standard of living for all Malaysians. The program seeks to improve agricultural production, increase industrialization, maintain the Federation's excellent financial position, retain a minimum of government control, encourage private enterprise, and stimulate foreign assistance in the financial and technical fields.

With the cooperation of the people, the government is pressing what it calls a rural revolution to improve existing land holdings by expanding the water supply, draining low lands, and planning irrigation systems; raise agricultural production by introducing better seeds and more effective methods of cultivation; improve and multiply live-

stock; open up new lands; expand transportation facilities to move more agricultural products to urban markets. Material advances in these areas would raise rural earnings and stimulate an increasing demand for urban manufactured goods with the resultant benefits in related fields.

To encourage industrial expansion, the government is attempting to attract investments by holders of domestic and foreign capital by maintaining a stable political climate, creating favorable attitudes toward private capital, guaranteeing to protect foreign capital and investment, and by a specific executive and legislative action. Thus, it has granted tax relief to pioneer industries, reduced tariffs on imported items used in the manufacturing process, expanded credit facilities, and encouraged the growth of a securities exchange. To complement these activi-



ties, the government has accepted a responsibility for establishing industrial sites, and expanding transportation, power and communications.

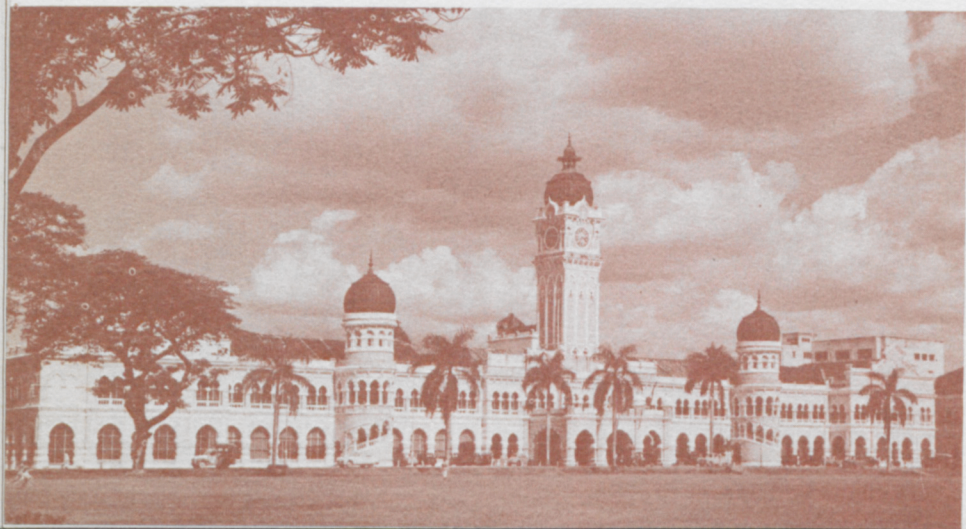
By raising living standards and preventing dissatisfactions, the viable economic system may well strengthen parliamentary democracy in Malaya. If successful, it will minimize the possibilities of radical opposition elements gaining sufficient strength on economic issues to overthrow democracy in Malaya.

The Federation government is faced with many problems in the social services. While recognizing the need for those services, it realizes that it is limited in its ability to expand them because of their costs. They are, however, being expanded by the efforts of several voluntary organizations. These organizations are stepping stones to successful democratic government, for it is through the united effort of public

and private organizations that Malaya will meet its responsibilities toward the individual citizen.

Based on the Federation government's acceptance of political, economic, and social responsibilities toward Malaya as a nation, rather than for the benefit of any particular race or class; on its display of practical, forceful, and acceptable leadership throughout the community; and on the political strength of its organizational structure, the outlook for democracy in Malaya is good.

By ideal western political standards democracy has not yet been achieved in Malaya. Nevertheless, compared with the actual practices of western concepts by some non-Asian nations which claim to be democratic, Malaya's democracy is developing well; and in comparison with other Asian governments which claim to be democratic, Malaya is setting new standards of excellence.







*From left, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs Woodruff Wallman, Ambassador Fenoaltea, University President Thomas H. Carroll, Ambassador Jarring, University Marshal John F. Latimer, and Professor Martino.*

## **Dag Hammarskjöld ... Who Gave His Life for All Countries**

THE UNIVERSITY joined with the Ambassador of Sweden Gunnar Jarring and the Ambassador of Italy Sergio Fenoaltea in a commemoration of the late UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld at Lisner Auditorium.

The commemoration took the form of a scholarly evaluation of the late Secretary's contributions to international relations and the development of the UN.

His Excellency Gaetano Martino, former Foreign Minister of Italy and Head of the Italian Delegation to the UN General Assembly, addressed the gathering representing the academic and diplomatic communities of Washington.

Professor Martino cited the personal contributions of Dag Hammarskjöld in interpreting the role of Secretary-General as an active and effective one thereby strengthening the authority of the UN; Dag Hammarskjöld's efforts to translate into political strength the moral strength of the new independent States; and his work expressing his conviction that lasting peace cannot be built or defended without promoting civic progress among peoples through use of science and technology. Professor Martino said that Dag Hammarskjöld unquestionably belongs to the new class of hero—"a man who gives his life for all countries."

## APPOINTMENTS:

ALBERT V. BRYAN JR., EX 47, Judge for the 16th Judicial Circuit of Virginia.

COL. JUSTICE M. CHAMBERS LLB 31, Deputy Director of the Office of Emergency Planning.

DR. HERBERT T. DALMAT PhD 57, Assistant Chief of the Rio de Janeiro Office, National Institutes of Health.

NANCY P. D'AMICO JD 60, Prosecutor in D.C. Municipal Court's Traffic Branch.

CAPT. RUTH A. ERICKSON EX 51, Director of the Navy Nurse Corps.

CAPT. RICHARD M. HADDAD MPA 60, Assistant Civil Affairs Officer with a U.S. Air Forces in Europe unit at Wheelus Air Base, Libya.

FRANK C. HALE LLB 33, to the newly created office of Program Review Officer, Federal Trade Commission.

BENJAMIN M. HOLSTEIN AB 52, Hearing Examiner, Department of Agriculture.

ROBERT A. KEVAN AB 52, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, heading the newly established Office of International Affairs.

MYRON L. KOENIG, for 13 years Professor of Anglo-American History at the University, to be Dean of the School of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Service Institute, Department of State.

EDMOND J. LEONARD EX 52, Assistant Director of Information of the President's

*Judge Frank H. Myers LLB 23, LLM 24, of the Municipal Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia took oath of office on June 14 from Chief Judge Andrew M. Hood.*



UNIVERSITY

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FEDERALITES

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Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped.

MILDRED M. MARSHALL AB 52, Recreation Specialist in Social Activities, Army Special Services, to be assigned in Germany, Italy, and France.

MARIO T. NOTO EX 39, Associate Commissioner in Charge of Operations for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice.

ARNOLD C. STERNBERG LLB 53, member of the Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin.

FRANKLIN M. STONE LLB 34, Commissioner of the U.S. Court of Claims.

ABDUL KAKIM TABIBI AM 52, named to the UN International Law Commission from Afghanistan.

## HONORS:

ELIZABETH E. BENSON AB in ED 31, Dean of Women at Gallaudet College, received that College's honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters.

DR. HELEN M. DYER MS 29, PhD 35, a research chemist at National Cancer Institute, the American Chemical Association's Garvin Medal as the Nation's outstanding woman chemist of the year.

DR. IRVIN KERLAN, Associate in Medicine, the FDA Award of Merit, the highest award of the Food and Drug Administration, for sustained contributions of high quality particularly in the fields of haz-



ardous substances and reporting adverse effects of drugs.

LT. COL. NORRIS R. KINCAID MBA 59, the Pacific Air Forces Achievement Certificate for meritorious service as Director of Plans and Programs, 13th Air Force, Clark Air Base, Philippine Islands.

JAMES N. MOSEL, Associate Professor of Psychology, a certificate of appreciation for Patriotic Civilian Service by the Department of the Army. Professor Mosel; DON CARLOS FAITH, Professor of Educational Psychology; and GORDON L. LIPPITT, Professor of Behavioral Sciences, were cited for contributions to the Army Management School at Fort Belvoir.

JOSEPH A. MOSS LLB 40, Superior Service Award from the Department of Agriculture for exercising unusual leadership and initiative in obtaining important legislation and in program formulation and administration.

ALBERT R. PURCHASE BS 32, Department of Commerce Meritorious Service Silver Medal Award, for valuable contributions to highway design and construction, and for outstanding leadership in the establishment of harmonious Federal-State relations in the advancement and execution of the highway program in Vermont.

MAJ. JOHN J. SHAUGHNESSY MBA 59, Air Force Commendation Medal for meritorious service while assigned as procurement officer at Tainan Air Station, Formosa.

## RETIREMENTS:

MARGARET E. DANIELS AA 53 and FLORENCE A. WATERS, former student, both teachers of the deaf, at Kendall School and Gallaudet College, respectively.

THOMAS G. DIGGES BS 26, as Assistant Chief, Metallurgy Division, and Chief, Thermal Metallurgy Section, National Bureau of Standards.

DR. JAMES IRVIN HOFFMAN MS 21, as Consultant to the Director of the National Bureau of Standards, US Department of Commerce, after 43 years of service to that agency.

CLIVE W. PALMER LLB LLM MPL 23, BS 25, as Executive Assistant to the Deputy Attorney General.

## OTHER:

RAUL D'ECA AM 33, PhD 36, received a Fulbright grant for studies in Brazil.

WILLIAM P. HARRIS BS (wd) 52, helped develop an improved three-terminal dielectric specimen holder at the National Bureau of Standards.

ROY H. HOOPES, JR., AB 43, AM 48, author of the book, "The Complete Peace Corps Guide," which gives detailed and authoritative answers to all the questions now being asked about the Peace Corps.

*Six officers were awarded the same medal while enrolled in various study programs at the University. From left, Maj. John W. Daniels; Capt. Robert P. Johnson; University Dean A. M. Woodruff; Capt. John F. Whitehouse; Maj. Gen. Walter B. Putnam, who presented the awards; Capt. Lewis C. Lemon; Capt. Leo Mills; Capt. Laurence Del Rosario; and Maj. Thomas F. Blake, Jr., who was honored at the same time as outstanding supply officer.*







*Alumni Achievement Award winner Helena Z. Benitez AM in Ed 39, visited the University in April following sessions of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, to which she was a delegate from the Philippines. Miss Benitez, who is Executive Vice President of the Philippine Women's University, is shown with University Provost O. S. Colclough (left) and Alumni Secretary Stanley Tracy (right).*

SAMUEL J. ROSENBERG BS 24, helped conduct a study at the National Bureau of Standards to develop a non-tarnishable alloy for physical standards of mass.

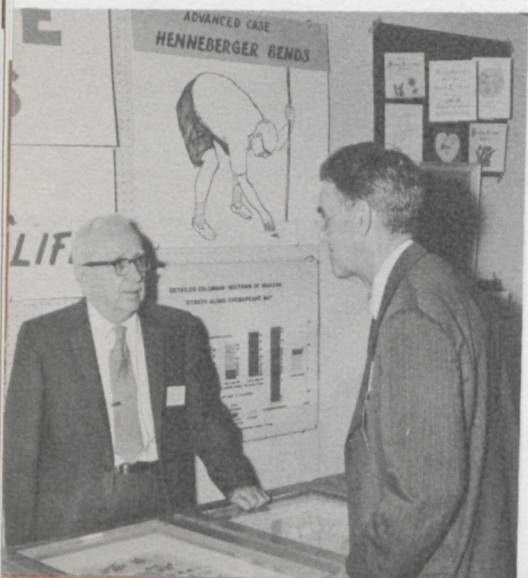
REGINALD W. WAGNER AB MA 58,

promoted to lieutenant colonel in the Air Force.

CHARLES D. WEBER BS 35, Awarded a Fulbright Grant for studies in India.

—CLAIRE CARLSON

*Dr. J. B. Henneberger (MD wd 13), prepared his hobby exhibit for the 29th Annual Scientific Assembly of the Medical Society of the District of Columbia. Colonel Henneberger, USA (Retd.), made this collection of miocene fossils during 12 years at his summer home at Scientists' Cliffs in Calvert County. The disease here called "Henneberger bends" is prevalent there because everyone including the cartoonist, Mr. Robert Coffin, and the plant physiologist who developed the area of Scientists' Cliffs, Mr. Flippo Gravatt (right), a former student at the University, collects sharks' teeth and other fossils.*



## Grant Exhibition

The summer art exhibition at the University Library included a small selection from the U. S. GRANT MEMORIAL presented to the University by Major General U. S. Grant, III, grandson of the Civil War general and president. Included were addresses, books, engravings, paintings, photographs, plaques, prints, and sculpture, with a fine G. P. A. Healy portrait, a water color painted by U. S. Grant in 1842 while a cadet at West Point, and the holograph remarks of President Abraham Lincoln and the reply of Ulysses S. Grant upon presentation of his commission as lieutenant general on March 9th, 1864.

General Grant, III, was Vice President of the University from 1946 to 1951, and is now an Honorary Trustee. During forty-three years of active service in the Army, he received many decorations and honors.





## *Watercolors Attract Washington Officialdom*

*Mr. Armistead Peter III, greets guests (above) at the opening reception for his exhibit of 64 watercolors at the University Library.*



*Among the guests, Mrs. Stanley Reed, wife of the Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; former Ambassador Stanley K. Hornbeck and Mrs. Hornbeck.*



*Former Congressman Charles S. Dewey; Mrs. Wade Haislip, wife of the Governor of U. S. Soldiers' Home; and Mrs. Dewey.*

*Mr. Peter and Justice Reed.*



# Bureaucracy: Pakistani and American

BY DAVID S. BROWN

*Professor of Public Administration, The George Washington University  
Senior American Adviser, National Institute of Public Administration, Lahore*

**T**HE VISITOR FROM the United States is at once impressed by the role which the government plays in the life of the Asian countries. Pakistan, for example, is far from being socialistic, yet it is clearly a bureaucracy-dominated country. Not only does government perform all of the usual functions of government but it is also the well-spring of most of the social change that is likely to come about.

This is not because, like a cor-

*Since January 1961, Professor Brown has been on leave from the School of Government, Business and International Relations, serving in Lahore, West Pakistan as Deputy Chief of a large technical assistance party in public administration under the School of Public Administration of the University of Southern California.*

porate state, it has edged enterprise and initiative out. Rather, it is because private enterprise was not capable of meeting these needs, and often not motivated to try. The result is that government must be concerned not only with law and order and education, but also with the provision of food, clothing, housing, and even the stimulation of industrial production.

How well is government equipped to meet such kinds of responsibility? Is its administrative machinery really adequate to what is being asked of it? The answer, it seems to me, is that no bureaucracy is really equal to such tasks. That of Pakistan, unfortunately, is less prepared than many. The visitor is impressed with the calibre of many of



those he meets in government, and with their constant efforts to do better, but the task that confronts them is really greater than their ability to bear it.

The Pakistani bureaucratic system, for example, is an old one, based on historic patterns that were devised for other purposes than it is now being asked to achieve. Major distinctions are made between "policy making" and "operations," and a strong effort made to enforce them. Relationships between local political officers and the newer functional departments (such as health, agriculture, irrigation, and public works which are directed from the capitals) are still being defined and many

problems are being encountered. Moreover, most of the civil servants who make up the bureaucracy are divided into classes or cadres which make it virtually impossible for a man, regardless of his ability, to move from one to the other, or, in many situations even to advance in rank. There is, particularly at the grass roots level, a kind of corruption that has existed for many centuries, which, in addition to demeaning the baksheesh-taker, burdens the entire system.

And yet, as I have indicated above, Pakistan has many assets. Its forward looking President, Ayub Khan, is one. The brightness and enthusiasm of many of its civil serv-

*Professor Brown welcomes the Governor of the Province, Malk Amir Mohammad Khan, to opening day ceremonies of the National Institute of Public Administration. Center, M. M. Ahmed, Additional Chief Secretary, and Chairman of the NIPA Board.*





ants is another. Its desire to maintain itself on the side of Western democracy is a third. Its new Constitution and its willingness to try new ideas and to accept advice from the outside, is a fourth. There are others also. Yet, all in all, the burden of making a modern nation out of the 90-odd million people who live in Pakistan, already the sixth largest nation in the world, is a monumental one. Unless radical changes take place in present administrative ways of doing things, it is difficult to see how its goals can be achieved.

It is at this point that one makes the inevitable comparison with the bureaucracies of the west, and with our own in particular. What have we in the United States that they do not have in Pakistan? What makes our bureaucracy, for all its difficulties, work so much better than theirs? Over the past several months I have given a great deal of thought to such matters, and am prepared to suggest a few answers. They are particularly appropriate to a Washington, D. C. audience.

### **The Pluralistic Society**

The first and perhaps the most important advantage that our own American bureaucracy has that its Pakistani counterpart does not is the large number of *pressures from the outside*. While I have often been depressed by the kind and extent of the criticism which Congressional committees, pressure groups, newspapers, and citizens in general have heaped upon the American office



*Amjod Shah MA in Govt 57 (left) and other staff members of the new Institute for Public Administration at Lahore.*

holder, these are basically the characteristics of an energetic and purposeful society. I felt then, and I still feel, that greater restraint would be in the public interest. But the remedy, I am convinced, is in the improvement of the system, not the elimination of it. This kind of public criticism is vital because it helps to keep the bureaucracy competitive within and viable without. Pakistan has little—painfully little—of this kind of thing. It is its own great loss.

### **The Feeling of Individual Responsibility**

A second important difference in the two types of bureaucracy is the *personal responsibility for what happens* that the average American civil servant feels so greatly. As governments grow larger and more complex, making them work becomes increasingly difficult. My view is that the secret American weapon is neither the systems nor the mechanization we talk so grandly about.



Rather, it is this deep feeling of personal responsibility of our civil servants for end results. In time of war, our military forces place high value on such a trait. In time of peace, it may even be more valuable.

### **Flexibility of Approach**

The American bureaucratic system, perhaps as a result of the above, has a far greater flexibility and adaptability than almost any other. This is another way of describing the pragmatism which so often moves us. Something is good because it works; if it does not work, we seek ways of modifying it. The American bureaucratic system is always undergoing self-analysis, it is always being modified to meet changing conditions. When they consider it necessary, our civil servants will even violate the system. One comes to appreciate such an approach the more after observing the older, more static ways of doing things in the rest of the world.

### **A Sensitivity to the Needs of the Public**

Finally, the American bureaucrat shows a far greater sensitivity to public needs than does his opposite number in many other parts of the world. There may be—and usually is—large dispute over what public needs may be, but the officeholder in the U. S. is concerned with them nevertheless. Recently, in Pakistan, the higher officers of government have been impressing upon their subordinates the need for in-

creased sensitivity to public demands. In doing so, they speak of “official arrogance,” of discourtesy, and of incivility, in order to remind the official of the image in which he is held by large sections of the public. Such efforts at reform are well-timed: free government cannot exist unless its servants are constantly alert to public needs and demands. We are indeed fortunate that such a concern plays so large a part in our own public life.

Sometimes, it has seemed to this observer, those of use in the United States become preoccupied with organizational patterns, with methods and procedures, and with equipment. Too often perhaps, we pass casually over the deeper truths that make our system work in spite of its deficiencies. The year and a half I have spent outside the country has helped to emphasize these important points.

*Professor Brown visits in a Chakma village in East Pakistan near the Burmese border.*



# FALL OFFERINGS AT THE UNIVERSITY

## SINO-SOVIET STUDIES

A unique research program of Sino-Soviet studies, combined with graduate level courses designed to train "a new breed of generalists" to cope effectively with the problems of the East-West conflict, will be inaugurated this Fall at the University.

The program is being developed by an Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies, which has been established within the University's School of Government, Business, and International Affairs.

Directing the venture will be Dr. Kurt London, a former government expert on problems of international communism and the Sino-Soviet bloc, and the

author of several books on foreign policy and ideological conflict. Dr. London is a graduate of the University of Wurzburg, and has also attended universities in Berlin, Heidelberg, Zurich, London, and Paris. He has taught at New York City College, Brooklyn College, and the University of Denver.

"In government the highest level of expert," Dr. London says, "is the generalist, who, having accumulated much detailed knowledge and experience, can apply it to overall problems of fundamental significance." He said an important aim of the new program will be to provide the background and stimulus for a new breed of Sino-Soviet generalists who bring "twentieth century minds" to the task of substantive analysis and policy formulation.

"From the beginning," Dr. London said, "we will concentrate on three main themes—theory and practice of communism, the Soviet Union and Communist China." As the program grows, studies of the East European and Asian satellite nations will be added, and an analysis of communist relations with non-aligned areas will be made.

Graduate seminars will consider such subjects as the strategy and tactics of communism, comparative ideology in the Soviet Union and Red China, the new trends of communist "polycentrism" and its political, social, economic, and cultural repercussions, examination of the influence of ideology on foreign policy, and the question of nationalism in communist countries.

An integrated approach to international communism, Sovietology, and contemporary Sinology will be made, Dr. London said, "since no full understanding of the so-called world socialist system can be achieved as long as these subjects are treated separately." He said the Institute will integrate all that is known about the communist bloc through an interdisciplinary, area approach, uniting the fields



of history, political science, economics, geography, and the languages into a common front.

Both Russian and Mandarin Chinese languages will be taught, though the Chinese will not be offered to students during the first year of the program's operation.

The Institute's plan—when it becomes fully operational—is to offer graduate education to resident and visiting students, as well as to government employees, on a fulltime and parttime basis. In the future, the Institute hopes to engage in contract training projects for the government, and “to develop an education center for foreign students from the free world countries sent for the express purpose of studying international communism and Sino-Soviet policy interpreted in its light.”

## **ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY**

The Department of Sociology and Anthropology which previously offered a combined program of study for the bachelor's degree, will offer a major program in sociology or a major program in anthropology toward the bachelor's degree beginning with the Fall Semester.

## **URBAN AFFAIRS**

The School of Government, Business, and International Affairs now offers a program of study leading to the degree of Master of Arts in the field of Urban Affairs Administration. This program is designed to prepare graduates for useful roles in the increasingly complex metropolitan administrative structure. Stress will be placed upon gaining a broad understanding of the nature and structure of the city—particularly that of the super-city as it is developing today—and upon administrative theory.

## **NEW COURSES AT PRESS TIME**

### **ART**

Former Art 101 expanded to two semesters, 101 (Fall) Greek and Roman Architecture, and 102 (Spring) Greek and Roman Sculpture

Former Art 105 expanded to two semesters, 104 (Fall) Renaissance Art in Italy I, and 105 (Spring) Renaissance Art in Italy II

Music 5-6 Fundamentals of Music  
Music 131-132 Harmony

### **BIOLOGY**

1-2 now becomes an 8-hour course replacing former freshman zoology, botany, and biology

### **BUSINESS AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

204 Quantitative Factors in Administration

Business Administration 122 Life Insurance and Estate Planning (Spring)

Hospital Administration 293-92-95 becomes 293-94-95 and 296-97-98 or Hospital Residency I and II, two years of residency instead of one  
Hospital Administration 150 Survey of Medical Care Organizations and Procedures

### **CHEMISTRY**

13-14 General Chemistry for Engineering Students

### **CLASSICAL LANGUAGES**

51-52 Introduction to Latin Prose and Poetry

21-22 First-year Classical Hebrew

### **ECONOMICS**

212 Seminar in Price Theory

231-32 Quantitative Economics

247 Labor Relations in the Federal Service (In cooperation with the Law School)

### **EDUCATION**

137 Teaching Speech (Spring)

226 Reading in Secondary Schools (Spring)

283-84 Higher Education

### **CIVIL ENGINEERING**

166 Transportation Engineering

## ENGINEERING ADMINISTRATION

- 204 Administration of Engineering Contracts
- 207 Personnel Administration
- 254 Principles and Procedures of Automatic Data Processing Systems
- 275 Linear Programming
- 276 Theory of Games
- 277 Queuing Theory

## ENGINEERING SCIENCE

- 216 Advanced Dynamics
- 219 Mechanics of Continua
- 230 Dynamics of Compressible Fluids

## GEOGRAPHY

- 173-174 City Planning: Theory and Practice
- 194 Communist China (Spring)

## GEOLOGY

- 107 Dynamic Geology

## GERMAN

- 219 Teaching German in College
- 222 Comparative and Historical Indo-European Linguistics (Sanscrit)

## HISTORY

- 251-52 Seminar in English History
- Former History 274 expanded to 273-74 Reading Course in American Economic and Social History

## MATHEMATICS

- 21-24 Calculus I-IV, an integrated course in analytic geometry and calculus
- 281-282 Introduction to Topology, expansion of a previous offering

## MICROBIOLOGY

- 211 Medical Bacteriology
- 213 Medical Parasitology

## PATHOLOGY

- 281 Problems in Experimental Cellular Pathology
- 283 Biochemical Techniques in Pharmacology

## PHYSIOLOGY

- 137 Vertebrate Physiology
- 170 General Physiology (Spring)
- 265 Physiology of Cell Membranes

## POLITICAL SCIENCE

- 119 Foundations of American Democracy

## PSYCHOLOGY

- 3 Introduction to Experimental Psychology
- 115 Psychology and Language and Communication
- 265 Theory and Design in Human Relations Training
- 267 Theories of Organization (Spring)

## ROMANCE LANGUAGES

### French

- 224 Seminar: The Age of Rabelais
- 225 Seminar: The Age of Montaigne
- 226 Seminar: French Poetry from Villon to Malherbe
- 233 Seminar: Seventeenth Century Literary Doctrines
- 234 Nondramatic Literature of the Seventeenth Century
- 242 Seminar: the French Novel in the Eighteenth Century
- 250 Romanticism in France
- 254 Seminar: Victor Hugo
- 255 Seminar: Stendhal and LeBeylisme

### Spanish

- 129 The Romantic Drama in Spain
- 224 Seminar: the Renaissance in Spain
- 225 Seminar: Lyric Poetry of the Golden Age
- 226 Seminar: Picaresque Novel
- 244 Seminar: the Spanish Novel of the Nineteenth Century
- 252 Seminar: Spanish Literature since the Civil War
- 253 Seminar: Modernismo
- 261 Seminar: Spanish-American Essayists
- 266 Seminar: Alfonso Reyes

## SLAVIC LANGUAGES

- 109-110 Advanced Russian Conversation and Composition

## SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

- Sociology 147—Complex Organizational Behavior
- Anthropology 183—Old Word Archaeology

## SPEECH

- 127-28 Advanced Debate Practice

## STATISTICS

- 261-62 Information Theory for Engineers





## Peace Corps Invades Strong Hall

PEACE CORPS trainees for Nepal invaded Strong Hall this summer for a rigorous schedule of studies from 8 a.m. to 8:30 p.m., 5 days a week, and half day on Saturday. Seventy-eight, including 15 women and 7 married couples with an average age of 25, lived in the Hall and had intensive training in the language, customs, and history of the country in which those who complete the program satisfactorily will be assigned shortly. They received instruction also in technical skills, American and world affairs, health and recreation. The training program prepared teachers, agriculturists,

home economists and others to serve in Nepal. It also inaugurated a program on inter-university cooperation in the National Capital area. For example, Dr. Robert H. Walker, Jr., University Professor of American Literature, taught George Washington trainees and also trainees preparing for other Peace Corps projects at Maryland, Georgetown, and Howard universities. Among the Nepalese assigned to practice the language with the trainees and tell about their country was Miss Sabita Koirala, daughter of the Ambassador, and Miss Bhinda Malla, Second Secretary of the Nepal Embassy. Project Director was Dr. Burnice H. Jarman. The leader in Nepal will be Dr. Robert Bates of Phillips Exeter Academy, known widely as a Himalayan mountain climber.

*Chester Bowles, Special Adviser to the President of the United States, told Peace Corps trainees that the real purpose of our foreign aid program is to make America's values more meaningful to others within the framework of their own culture.*





*The Carrolls and Professor Deibert welcome Miss Shailaja Kalelkar of Bombay and Juan Martinez of Guadalajara.*

## *Foreign Students*

University foreign students have participated recently in a special seminar on "America Today," a reception at the President's House as guests of University President and Mrs. Thomas H. Carroll, and their own 30th anniversary as a group banded together.



*Miss Kalelkar, daughter of the Indian Public Relations Counselor, and Xadra Manns, American girl born in Madras, exchange memories.*



*International Queen of the University Haida Shapurian, daughter of the Iranian Press Attache, was crowned by Ambassador Alberto Zuleta-Angel, Representative of Colombia on the Council of the Organization of American States and Chairman of the Council.*







*Foreign Student Adviser Alan Deibert greets Mr. Stewart Cockburn of the Australian Embassy and students from Denmark.*



*Miss Colette de Rozario of France presides at the punchbowl for (from left) Savoudh Nong, Hari Notowidigdo, and Raghu Chari of India. Mr. Nong and his sister are children of the Ambassador of Cambodia. Mr. Notowidigdo is son of the Indonesian Ambassador to India. Mr. Chari is son of the Assistant Cultural Attache of the Indian Embassy.*

*Senator John Sparkman spoke at Airlie House on "The Political System of the United States."*



*President Carroll's German mug was admired by three German students. From left, Dorothea von Holleben, Sven Grasshoff, Christa Baumbusch.*





# science— a participating partner in government



BY GLENN T. SEABORG

*Chairman of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission*

*Excerpts from the commencement address delivered in the University Yard, June 6, 1962. (See also back cover.)*

There are few subjects which have received more study and comment in the last decade—and particularly since Sputnik—than the relationships between science and government. These studies and comments have generally been parallel, that is, they have taken similar direction. They have recognized the importance of the relationships; they have analyzed it; in general they have expostulated but they have not expounded. This is to their credit. They have been groping to find the place of science in a developing scientific society. They have been probing to find the means for making scientific methods and knowledge an effective instrument and a constructive force in the new scientific revolution. However, the general approach has been toward effectuating an advisory relationship between scientists on the one hand and government, as representing both a political and social entity, on the other. This is important. Scientists are asking for advice; scientists offer advice. But the permeation of science into the whole fabric of our society requires that science be utilized other than as a reference book—other than as a Noah Webster or a Dr. Spock or a Dr. Gesell. It means that science must become a *general* and *participating partner* in Government. Men who *know* science and technology—whether or not they are scientists or engineers—must join in creating our laws, in forming our social order and in establishing our national policy.”



# *Is the First Amendment* **OBSOLETE?**

BY CHARLES B. NUTTING

*Professor of Law; Dean of the National Law Center*

*Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. . . .*

THE ONE THING that can be asserted about the first amendment with complete confidence is that it does not mean what it says. It means more than it says. It means less than it says. Depending upon circumstances it may, at different times, mean either more or less than it says. It speaks, through the Supreme Court, not with the clear voice of unanimity but with the uncertain tones of doubt and division.

\* \* \*

As it is, it can be argued that the first amendment is obsolete in two aspects. First, it deprives society of protections which it needs and should have. If a given political unit determines through its legislative body that its citizens should be guarded against the pornographer, the distributor of "hate" literature and "terror comics" or the religious zealot who invades the peace of the community with blaring sound trucks; and if it predicates its action on objective factual determinations in which the public interest is clearly established; and if its action is em-

bodied in a properly drawn law satisfying the constitutional requirements of definiteness and certainty, it should not be prevented from giving such protection on the basis of a doctrinaire and inflexible interpretation of the federal bill of rights.

Second, if the amendment is supposed to include a "bundle of rights" . . . and if the amendment is thought of as being the exclusive source of these rights, it may offer inadequate protection to individuals. It is suggested that interests such as privacy can be considered more realistically under the generalized concept of due process and that greater flexibility and thus greater recognition of the interest might result. In the unlikely event that the thesis of this paper is adopted by the courts, the truth of the proposition may be tested.

*Excerpt from THE GEORGE WASHINGTON LAW REVIEW, December, 1961 published five times annually by students of the Law School. Back copies, \$1.50. Address requests to THE GEORGE WASHINGTON LAW REVIEW, The George Washington University, Washington 6, D. C.*

## Our Ability as a Nation



## Faces Rigorous Tests

A warning that Americans face strong challenges to their world leadership was issued by Dr. Vannevar Bush, noted inventor, scientist and public servant, at the 6th annual public conference of the University's Patent, Trademark and Copyright Foundation in June.

Dr. Bush, who received the Foundation's 1961 Charles F. Kettering Award for meritorious work in patent, trademark and copyright research and education from University President Thomas H. Carroll, said that "to a certain extent we have been living in a fool's paradise, and we now approach rigorous tests of our ability as a nation."

"With a great homogeneous market, uninterrupted by political boundaries, great natural resources, native ingenuity, freedom of asso-

ciation, we have prospered mightily in the past," Dr. Bush said.

"That we are coming to the end of this happy road is all too clear," he emphasized. He cited the problem of the flow of gold and our relations with the Common Market.

"But it goes deeper than these points," he continued. "Other nations now not only realize the power of broad unimpeded markets, but propose to have them. Other nations are highly mechanizing their mass production. The use of generous amounts of power is rising everywhere. Increase of real national product, sensibly measured, is rising more rapidly among other prosperous nations than it is here. With this appears also a rise in the real wages of labor, and the increase in standards of living in the nations that are rapidly moving ahead."

"It will be some years before this gap is closed," Dr. Bush said, "In the meantime, in the next decade, there is a question whether we can continue to compete. There is also the question whether we can approach the problem sanely and wisely, or whether we have to go through some sort of economic catastrophe before we learn simple lessons."

"Under these circumstances one would expect that we would be straining every effort to support the free enterprise system which has served us well so far, to strengthen our industrial effort, in particular to further the conditions under which



we have led the world in the initiation of new products and new methods of production," the award winner said. But "we are doing just the opposite."

Dr. Bush said there was nothing partisan in his criticisms. "Matters have gone just about as badly whichever party was in power."

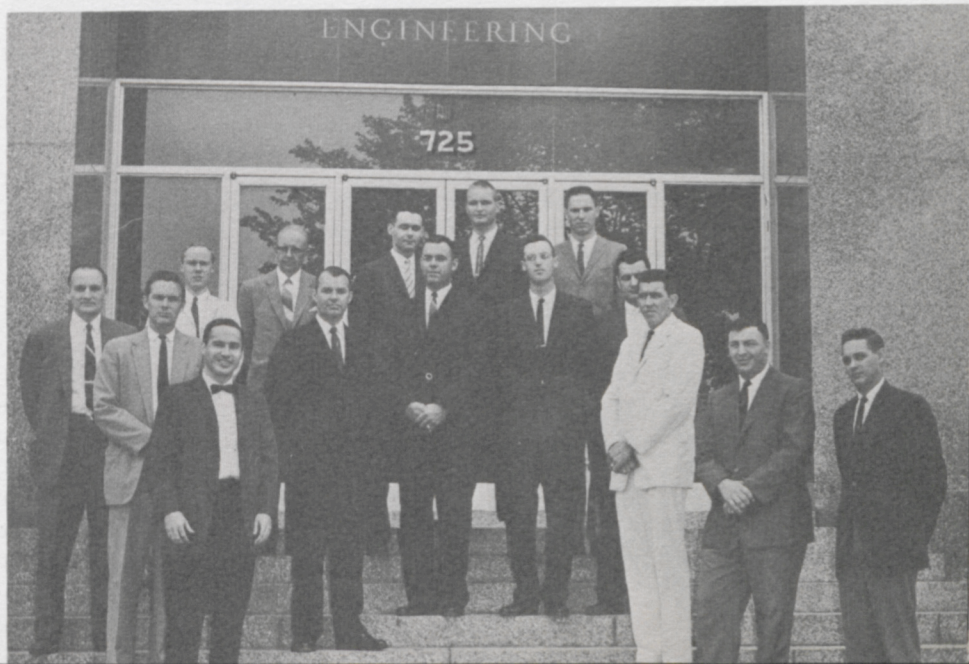
He said, "I am really criticizing the American people, or that section of it which reads only headlines, or pursues a special interest without regard for the general welfare, or, more broadly, the mass of the public which does not understand."

"It is the grasp and will of the people which determines our course," Dr. Bush said.

During the two-day conference, the United States industrial property systems in the competitive world context, and the international outlook on industrial property were discussed. Among the distinguished panel members who participated in the discussions was Norbert Koch, a member of the Directorate-General de la Concurrence, Commission of the European Economic Community, who spoke on the Common Market.

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*The University offers special training for Naval officers being assigned as instructors at the Naval Academy. Members of the 1962 class are pictured on the steps of Tompkins Hall with their professors.*





## **HumRRO** *Moves to Alexandria*

THE UNIVERSITY'S Human Resources Research Office, which has operated for more than 11 years on campus in Building D, will be moved about January 1 to the Fidelity Building now under construction at North Washington and Queen Streets in Alexandria.

University President Thomas H. Carroll and Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau, Chief of Research and Development, Department of the Army, made a joint announcement of relocation plans, pointing out that the Army contract with the University will remain virtually unchanged. General Trudeau said research results of the work done under this contract has been used by the Army in training, motivation, leadership, and man-weapons analysis. The present program involves nearly 30 research tasks.

Space released by the move to Alexandria will be used for classrooms and academic offices.



*Queen Anne Ware at the University Air Force Cadet Group's 11th Annual Military Ball. University President Thomas H. Carroll did the honors.*



*Daughter Julia Jean Norell and her mother, Representative Catherine D. Norell, from Arkansas, are greeted on the occasion of Miss Norell's graduation from the Law School by Law Dean Robert Kramer. Miss Norell's late father was Congressman from Arkansas and was also a lawyer.*



*General Young Hi Choi of Korea, a student at the University during the past year, presented a Korean doll to the University when he returned to Korea to become Ambassador to Turkey. Shown left to right are Associate Dean of Faculties John F. Latimer; Provost O. S. Colclough; and General Young Hi Choi.*







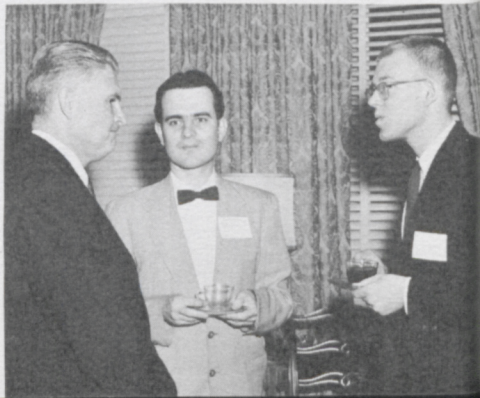
*Alumnus and Special Assistant to the President Brooks Hays; John Harris, leader of the Mt. Vernon Guard; the Hon. Roy F. Cooke, formerly Assistant Commissioner of the Federal Housing Administration and trustee of Kiwanis International, and University President Thomas H. Carroll. Posed prior to the Festival of Thanksgiving conducted by businessmen's service clubs of the metropolitan area.*

## RELIGION IN LIFE

REPRESENTATIVES of Washington officialdom were among the distinguished speakers on campus for various meetings and lectures during Religion in Life Week. The keynote address was made by Dr. Paul Tillich who said that in faith doubt is hidden.

*Former Ambassador Perle Mesta with the Religious Council President and Dr. Joseph R. Sizoo, Director of University Chapel and Milbank Professor of Religion. Mrs. Mesta spoke to a group of sorority girls.*

*Chief of the U. S. Secret Service James Rowley with Ed Knosema and Archibald M. Woodruff III, from left.*





# Books



## THE TAX EXEMPTION OF COOPERATIVES

By ROBERT T. PATTERSON AM 33, 2nd Edition, 140 pp., 1961.

The exemption of cooperatives is a perennial source of complaint and dissatisfaction with the Federal income tax. It is one of the more prominent fixtures in the "house of horrors," as our tax system has been called. What the author has to say about the favored position of cooperatives is mild compared with the comments of others concerning the treatment of cooperatives and other, even more aggravated instances of tax coddling. Professor Patterson thinks that "the greatest injustice of the present tax discrimination [between cooperative and noncooperative enterprise] is the competitive advantage that it gives to the cooperatives." It might have been better to have taken as his theme the proposition that the favored position of cooperatives is an outstanding, though by no means the only, or even the most flagrant, instance of inequality of income tax burden among our citizens.

The difficulty with the author's position is that removal of the tax exemption from cooperatives might well lead to a more vigorous competition with private business than is presently the case. The heart of the problem of taxing coopera-

tives on their full net trading margins, as Patterson would do, is that they do business in a manner that differs in material respects from ordinary private corporations. When a cooperative buys the farmer's produce, it pays him less than the prevailing outside market price; and when it purchases supplies or equipment for the farmer, it charges him more than its cost, possibly more than he might pay elsewhere. Later, usually during the same year, the cooperative will pay an additional amount or amounts or make a rebate, as the case may be, in cash or scrip to the patron. This "patronage dividend" will reduce the disparity between the cooperative's prices and those of outside private business. If cooperatives were subjected to the corporate income tax, they would be forced to pay the producer more, or charge him less, in the first instance, because under the proposal cooperatives would be denied any deduction or other adjustment in cost of goods sold or sales receipts. Therefore, if cooperatives were taxed on an equal footing with ordinary private business corporations, the element of price competition would enter the picture to an extent that it does not now. If cooperatives have a competitive advantage now, it would seem that their position would actually be enhanced under a fully taxable status. Professor Patterson recognizes this aspect of the situation, but he does not refute it.

All of which suggests that the patronage enjoyed by cooperatives is held by a powerful emotional bond of membership in a group having common problems and interests. And it further suggests that the real objection is not existing competitive trading advantages of cooperatives over private business, but fear that cooperatives may use tax-free retained earnings to expand their operations and buy up private, competing businesses. This is a distinct possibility, because cooperatives with their tax exemption can afford to pay more for a private business than it is worth to its owners. If a busi-



ness in private hands is earning \$100,000 after taxes, that same business will earn \$200,000 in the hands of a tax-exempt cooperative. However, here again, the author fails to document any substantial relative gains by cooperatives at the expense of private business.

This leaves the question whether there is any sound legal or economic basis for the exemption. The answer is that probably there is none, but there would be a severe, practical problem of reconstructing the net earnings of a cooperative to conform with the corresponding business carried out on an arms-length basis. The net trading margins of a cooperative are before price adjustments, so that it would not do to use such margins as the tax base. "Patronage dividends" are composed of price adjustments and earnings of the business, but there is no practicable way to ascertain the relative portions of each. The author's proposal to tax net trading margins of cooperatives would destroy the cooperative method of doing business. There would be as much injustice in this policy as there is in the present favored position.

More moderate proposals for reform in taxation of cooperatives recognize this difficulty, and are content to leave the exemption itself intact. These solutions would tax all patronage dividends, whether in cash or scrip, to the recipient, except those based on purchases of consumer articles, such as food, clothing, household goods, etc. However, it seems unlikely that Congress would require a tax on scrip that has no present, realizable value. The latest Treasury proposal would require cooperatives to withhold a tax equal to 20% of the face amount of any patronage dividend (other than one based on purchases of consumer articles), and give the recipient a corresponding tax credit. This credit would remove most of the resistance to paying a tax on amounts retained by the cooperative.

Finally, and most difficult of all the obstacles to reform, there is the matter of

political force. A vast number of farmers are members of cooperatives, and all these farmers have votes. They naturally do not take a sanguine view of proposals to tax cooperatives or noncash patronage refunds. Maybe they feel that there is something in the income tax law for nearly everybody (except wage-earners and professional people), so why should they give up one of their concessions? What is the answer to that?

J. Reid Hambrick  
Associate Professor of Law

#### **WASHINGTON: A MODERN GUIDE TO THE NATION'S CAPITAL**

By MICHAEL FROME EX 46. *Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1960. 257 pp. \$3.95.*

This lively, information-packed guidebook aims to present a "new, modern look" at Washington and its environs, taking account of the large-scale transformation it has been undergoing through construction of public and private buildings, reclamation of blighted areas, suburban expansion, and streamlining of transportation facilities. The 23 chapters are devoted to such subjects as "The Weather, the Seasons, and What Happens When," "Getting Around — and Where," "The Capitol, Face and Inner Frame," "Of Monuments and Museums," "The Executive Branch," "Culture in the Capital," "A Stroll In Georgetown," "A City of Churches," "The Restaurants," "Hotels and Motels," "The Overseas Guest," "Lincoln's Washington," and "Six Suggested Tours from Washington."

To note what may be regarded as defects and then dismiss them: The Procrustean division into distinct but disparate topics leaves something to be desired in the way of continuous narrative; thus, the second chapter describes the founding of the Federal City, but the recounting of history is then dropped until Chapter XX (dealing with Washington in



Lincoln's time), except for data given in accounts of particular landmarks. There are minor inaccuracies and simplifications: Dolley Madison's name is invariably spelled without the "e" (p. 74, etc.), John Wilkes Booth flees down Virginia Avenue after shooting Lincoln (p. 181), and within two consecutive paragraphs "Boss" Shepherd spends both 5 and 10 years in imperious civic development (pp. 188-89). Lastly, the citation of specific addresses and telephone numbers throughout for restaurants, service agencies, and the like is valuable for today's visitor, but because of changes in them the volume runs the risk of partial obsolescence.

None of these, however, can be considered a serious fault in viewing as a whole what the book achieves. Written in

an informal, fast-paced style which never descends to the purpleness of the tourist guidebook or the bad taste of the pseudo-"confidential" mishmash, it is as good a one-volume presentation of what to see and to do in and around Washington as can be found in print at the present time. Visitors and newcomers will find it most valuable, and even longtime residents of Washington will doubtless gain many new bits of information from it about surroundings they may have been taking for granted. The volume is attractively designed, with excellent maps and line-cut illustrations by Stephen Kraft.

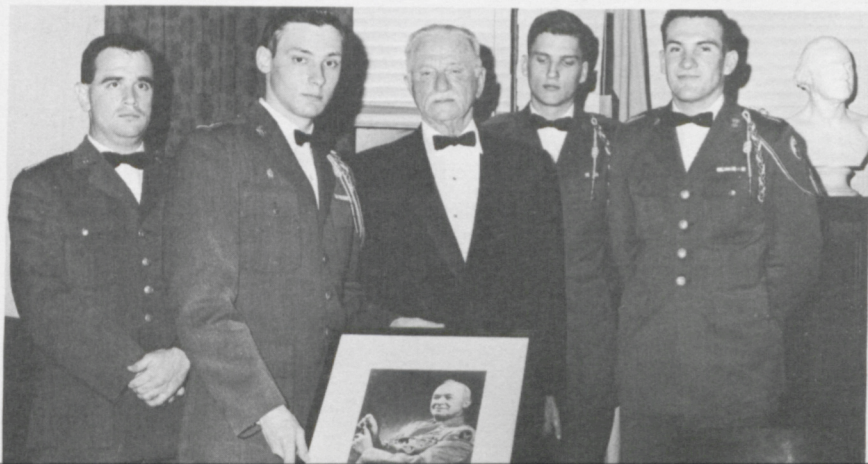
—VINCENT L. EATON

*Author, articles on Washington, D. C.  
and its landmarks,  
Encyclopedia Americana*

## Carl Spaatz Squadron

THE UNIVERSITY'S Carl Spaatz Squadron of the national Air Force ROTC society for advanced cadets, the Arnold Air Society, had as guest of honor at its tenth anniversary dinner in April the re-

tired general for whom the squadron is named. Gen. Spaatz assisted in presenting awards, spoke in tribute to the late Gen. "Hap" Arnold, for whom the national organization is named, and then presented a framed portrait of Gen. Arnold to the squadron.





*Three Federalites were among those receiving honorary degrees from the University at June Commencement. From left: Robert B. Calkins, Doctor of Laws, President of Brookings Institution; United States Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, Doctor of Public Service; University President Thomas H. Carroll; Marjorie Hope Nicholson, Doctor of Letters, Chairman of the Department of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University; Glenn T. Seaborg, Doctor of Public Service, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission; and Robert R. Gilruth, Doctor of Science, Director of Project Mercury.*

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